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The Ju|'hoan-Naro contact area

Alan Barnard

Naro is a Khoe language spoken mainly in western Botswana. Ju|'hoan is a Kx'a language spoken to the northwest, in northwestern Botswana and northeastern Namibia. The languages are unrelated, and the kin terminology structures are very different (Naro making parallel/cross distinctions, and Ju|'hoan making lineal/collateral ones). However, the two terminologies share a rare feature: a naming system in which namesakes are considered “grandrelatives”, and which enables universal kin categorization through rules of namesake-equivalence. For example, my sister’s namesake is classified as my “sister”, and the incest taboo is extended through such equivalences. The two languages also share a word for “grandrelative”, but very little other vocabulary and no grammatical features. In the past, Naro kinship (along with that of their near relatives, Ts'aokhoe, ≠Haba) was regarded as a simplified Khoe system with these Ju|'hoan or Kx'a features. Recently however, it was discovered that Naro are very likely once to have spoken a Kx'a language. The present paper outlines the two systems (Ju|'hoan and Naro), and it revisits the issues raised in an earlier paper in which the historical relationship between the two structures was examined.

Introduction

In 1988 I published a conjectural, although presumed definitive, essay on the historical relation between Ju|'hoan and Naro kinship (BARNARD 1988). In the absence of evidence from either linguistics or genetics, my findings from internal sources alone seemed conclusive. Analysis of the kinship structures themselves, and of aspects of similarity and difference between them, as well as comparison to related terminology structures, seemed to give a clear sign to their relations and to their prehistory.

However, since then one key fact has changed. The new evidence is to some extent linguistic, but mainly genetic. The published material (PICKRELL ET AL. 2012) is still scant and not, to my mind, conclusive, other than as an indicator that language change did occur, and with some sort of change in kinship terminology structure. Therefore, the exact reinterpretation of my findings is not as obvious as some might think.

Nevertheless, let us assume that the newer understanding as a whole is the correct one and that new material will shortly be forthcoming. In other words, let us assume that Naro, or their linguistic ancestors, once did speak a Kx'a, or Ju|'hoan-like,

language, and had at that time a kinship system similar to the present-day Ju|'hoan one, and further that they later acquired a kinship system more like those of other Khoe-speaking peoples. Let us further assume that a Ju|'hoan-like naming system was probably in place before language shift. This last supposition seems entirely reasonable, since the Naro system (which is essentially a Khoe system, but simplified through the addition of Ju|'hoan naming customs) is so obviously a clear combination of these two structures.

My assumption in 1988 had been based simply on contact between Ju|'hoansi and Naro in the past, and the acquisition of some Ju|'hoan characteristics, many resulting from the possession of that Ju|'hoan-like naming system by the Naro. This, I presumed, was acquired some time ago from the Ju|'hoansi or a neighbouring group speaking a similar language. The truth, as I have implied above, is actually a little more complicated. Among questions to be examined now: was this really Ju|'hoansi, or was it a related language? Did these northern people (their language family, including N!aqraxe to the south, now called Kx'a) have a terminology structure like the modern Ju|'hoansi, or was it different? Did the Naro already then have a Khoe-type structure, or was it Ju|'hoan-like, or indeed something different from both? Was the direction of change simply Kx'a to Khoe (that is, Ju|'hoan-like to Naro-like), or was it more complicated than that? If the change was indeed simply in that direction, did perhaps the Naro contribute anything to the structural elements held in common between these two very different systems? In short, what is the precise relation between the assumed "Northern" system and the "Central" one which came into contact with it? And when was this?

This paper will attempt to answer these questions, or at least to provide plausible answers based on the new, if scant, evidence. The key source on the latter is PICKRELL ET AL. (2012).

Kx'a kinship, illustrated with Ju|'hoan terms

The following description is based on my earlier interpretation (BARNARD 1988). A people similar to the modern Ju|'hoansi came into contact with a people similar to the modern Naro. The latter acquired a number of features of Ju|'hoan kinship, and these were related specifically to the acquisition of the Ju|'hoan system of giving and receiving personal names. Names carry personal identity. Younger namesakes, named after older ones, are treated as similar in identity. Their kin are classified si-

imilarly: my sister's namesake, for example, is my 'sister', and sex with such a person would be regarded as incestuous. Both the Ju|'hoansi and the Naro classify relatives not only by specific kinship terms ('sister', 'mother', etc.) but by generic, categorical terms ('joking' and 'avoidance') as well.

Tom GÜLDEMANN (personal communication [2012]) is quite explicit: the source of contact was not Ju|'hoan plus Naro, but rather "a Kx'a language" and Naro (see also BODEN, GÜLDEMANN & JORDAN, forthcoming; GÜLDEMANN & LOUGHNANE 2012). North to south, the existing Ju dialects are: !Xun (in Angola and northern Namibia), North Ju|'hoan (in Namibia and Botswana) and South Ju|'hoan (aka ǀKx'au|ein, mainly in Botswana). They are all similar, as are their kinship systems. Only the Ju|'hoan version is known definitely and well described (MARSHALL 1976: 201-86). Ju|'hoan terminology is based on a lineal/collateral distinction, an equivalence of alternating generations and a naming system that confounds categorization. In the last instance, when children are named after their grandparents, the "normal" classification system holds. When, however, one runs out of grandparents, personal names are given using those of uncles or aunts. A man names his own children, but gives them the names of one of their senior close kin. Namesakes are (in my terms) "grandrelatives" to each other. If a person is named after an uncle or aunt, the uncle or aunt is the grandrelative, and the grandparents and cousins on that side of the family are treated as if they are parents' siblings (generation + 1). Lorna MARSHALL's most relevant chapters include one on the kin terminology proper, and also ones on reserved behaviour and on marriage. An earlier chapter on the family and the band (MARSHALL 1976: 156-200), and elements of her chapter on "sharing, talking and giving" (1976: 287-312), complete her detailed picture of Ju|'hoan kinship. Most of these were originally published as articles in the journal *Africa* in the 1950s and 1960s.

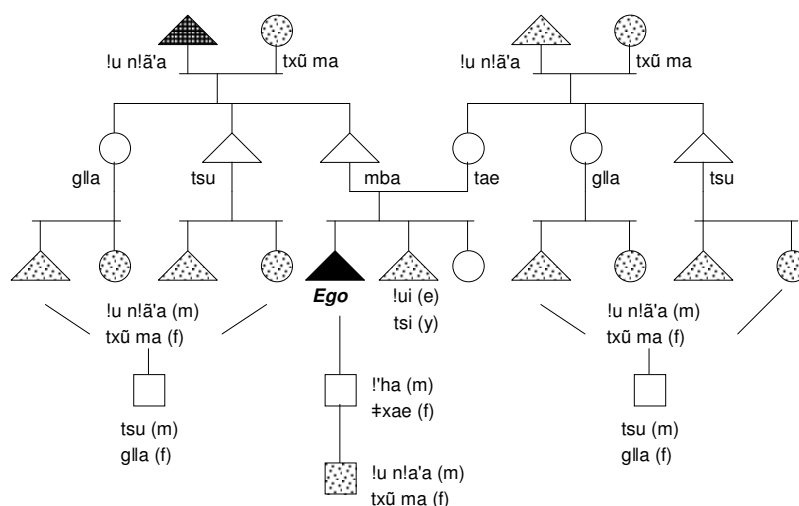
The Ju|'hoan terminology thus has two forms: the one which operates when ego is named after a grandparent (the "normal" version) and that which operates when ego is named instead after an uncle or aunt. The latter, as MARSHALL noted, confounds the usual classification, and initially this caused her some problem until naming was explained to her. For the Ju|'hoansi, generations alternate: one's own with the "other" one. In the normal version, cousins are of one's own generation or genealogical level, as are (classificatorally) one's grandparents and grandchildren. Uncles and aunts are the other one. Names "normally" pass from grandparent to

grandchild, and are presumed each to have originated from some namesake ancestor. Names are gender-specific, and carry with them a notion of equivalence: for example, a man would share this equivalence and therefore some kind of identity with his grandfather, and indeed with all others who bear the same name. Although a man names his own children, the rule is that he gives them the name of a living grandparent, starting with father's father, then mother's father; the father's mother, then the mother's mother.

When men run out of grandparents, they give their babies the names of those children's uncles and aunts instead. Because uncles and aunts are of a different genealogical level, the structure is quite different for these children than for their older siblings. A third-born son, for example, is given the name of an uncle. Thus every relative on the side of the family from which the name comes, is reversed from that used by his older siblings. They employ the "normal" form of classification, and the younger children, the other form, with the genealogical levels reversed.

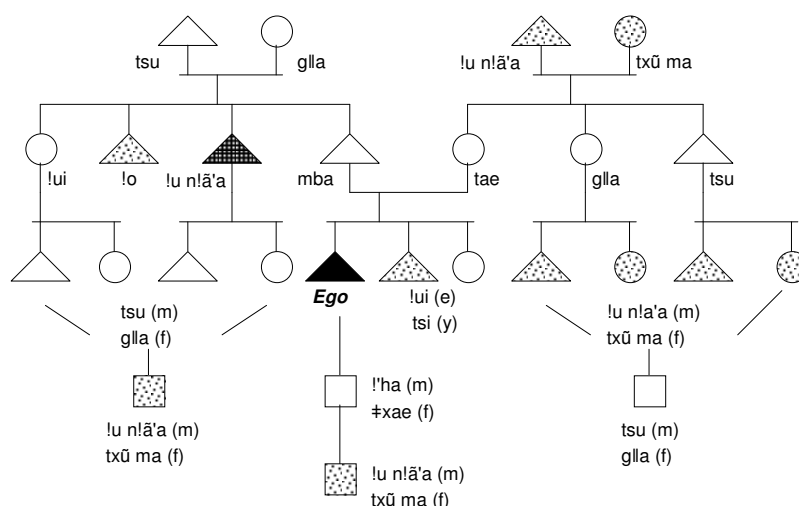
The full structure for consanguines is shown in Figure 11-1 (where ego is named after a grandfather), with the alternative (where ego is named after an uncle or aunt) in Figure 11-2. The orthography employed here is that recorded by MARSHALL. The structure beyond close relatives is similar too, because names pass from senior to junior and carry with them an assumption of common, namesake identity. If I bear the name of my grandparent, I possess a like identity: his sister is my "sister", and so on. Thus, names carry with them the kinship statuses of earlier relatives. Since the system is universal (BARNARD 1978b), names also regulate the incest taboo. If I call someone "sister", then she is my sister in terms of expected behaviour. As an avoidance relative, brothers and sisters do not sit close to each other; nor do they have sex with each other. This applies equally between "real" brothers and sisters and namesake ones.

In the figures, joking relatives are illustrated with dotted triangles and circles, and avoidance relatives with clear triangles and circles. The relative ego is named after is illustrated with mid shading, and ego with dark shading. For the sake of simplicity, I have retained MARSHALL's orthography throughout, though actual pronunciation may be slightly different from that implied. The terminology structure is not affected.



Ju|'hoan relationship terminology: basic structure
(ego is named after a grandparent)

Figure 11-1: Basic Ju|'hoan terminology structure (after MARSHALL)



Ju|'hoan relationship terminology: alternative structure
(ego is named after an uncle)

Figure 11-2: Alternative Ju|'hoan terminology structure (after MARSHALL)

Khoe kinship in general

The Naro today are a Khoe-speaking people. Although they live adjacent to the Ju|'hoansi and share some vocabulary with them, they do not share a great deal. Nor do they share many elements of Ju|'hoan kinship, apart from naming. Their terminology fits the pattern and structure of other Khoe systems, albeit with the Ju|'hoan

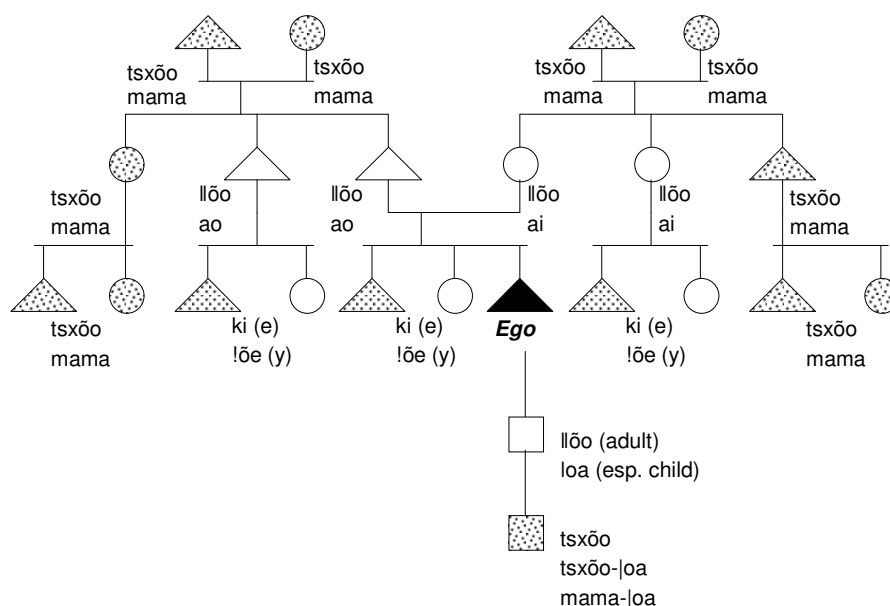
various sources, published in *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa*, later work on the G|ui by Hitomi ONO (e.g., Chapter 5 in this volume), on the Khwe by Gertrud BODEN (see Chapter 2), on the Shua by William MCGREGOR (see Chapter 3) and on the Hai||om by Thomas WIDLÖK (1999: 179-212) confirm this, except in relatively minor details. So too do the verbal kinship terms, which are widespread among these peoples but very rare elsewhere in the world (see, e.g., ONO 2010). This involves using *-ku* at the end of the root of a term (or the junior term, where senior differs from junior). For example, in G|ui cross-cousins can be described as *n||odi-ku* (cross-cousins to each other), rather than as *n||odi-ma* and *n||odi-sa*. In the case of Khoekhoe, the form *-gu* rather than *-ku* is used: in this language the orthographic 'g' indicates low tone, rather than voicing. The suffix *-ku* or *-gu* is usually used on verbs, for example, *maa-ku* (Naro) or *mû-gu* (Khoekhoe) "to see each other".

Whatever differences exist among Khoe kinship systems, especially among hunter-gatherer groups, they are rather slight in comparison with differences among the non-Khoe-speaking hunter-gatherers. The latter exhibit a variety of different structures, from purely descriptive or 'Sudanese' or possibly sometimes 'Hawaiian' (mainly among !Ui-speakers) to lineal and 'Eskimo' or indeed 'Iroquois' (both among Kx'a-speakers) (cf. BLEEK 1924; GRUBER 1973). The terminology of Naro is completely Khoe in structure, and the terms are mainly Khoe in origin.

Naro kinship as understood in 1988

I described Naro kinship terminology in detail in my Ph.D. thesis (BARNARD 1976) and in an article in *Cahiers d'études africaines* (BARNARD 1978a), and the categories are shown in Figure 11-4. Essentially, in 1988 I argued that Naro was a Khoe system that had adopted the naming practices (and some names) of the Ju|'hoansi, and therefore that the equivalence of alternate generations worked well for the Naro, simply because the equivalence of all cross-relatives in a Khoe system practising namesake equivalence meant that no categories needed to be changed. Uncles and aunts, for example, were already cross-relatives and equivalent to grandparents: they would not be a different category, as they are in Ju|'hoan. Thus the Naro system exhibited almost the simplest possible Khoe structure. I attributed this simplicity to the fact that they, apparently, had tacked the naming system, plus a few Ju|'hoan terms, onto a Khoe structure. The new Khoe-type structure which had emerged, I argued, was well suited to the adoption of the naming system, since it did not require any change

in terminology as a result of naming: the genealogical positions were already in the right categories, since both grandparents and uncles and aunts were termed alike in Khoe languages. The fact that they had borrowed Ju|'hoan terms was immaterial, although it did mean that the Naro could employ such terms either up the genealogical grid or down it. There was no need for a distinction between senior and junior relatives, and I put this fact down simply to the loss of the Khoe term *n//odi* (G|ui) or *//nuri* (Khoekhoe), which is used in most Khoe languages to mean equal or junior cross-relative.



Naro relationship terminology

Figure 11-4 Naro terminology structure

Two Kx'a customs are worth noting among the Khoe-speaking groups (including Naro and possibly Ts'aokhoe and ǀHaba) who live alongside Ju|'hoansi: the practice of *kamasi* (Ju|'hoan) or *kamane* (Naro) and that of *hxaro* (Ju|'hoan) or *//aĩ* (Naro). The form *hxaro* is the abstract noun in Ju|'hoan, but is unknown in Naro. Naro use only the form *//aĩ*, which in both languages is a transitive verb. Of course, I did not consider them specifically Kx'a customs when I first encountered them, but that now seems their most likely origin. *Kamasi*, as the Ju|'hoansi call it, or *kamane*, as it is known in Naro, is essentially a form of bridewealth. Bridewealth is very unusual among hunter-gatherers, though common among herders, and this made its discovery seem interesting, and possibly related to contact with others in each case.

Hxaro is a cycle of on-demand gift-giving that both forges relationships that can be relied on, including the right to use another's territory for subsistence purposes, and unites people across kinship categories. It is, in other words, "kinship by choice" in a system in which everyone is classified as 'kin'.

The suffix *-si* in Ju|'hoan is the plural, as is *-ne* (common gender, plural) in Naro. In Naro it is always used in the plural form (and always common gender), and I believe the same is the case in Ju|'hoan. Richard LEE has described *kamasi* in all the four editions of his *The Dobe !Kung* and *The Dobe Ju|'hoansi* (e.g., LEE 2013: 86-87). He and I discovered it independently, and although I had noted his use of the Ju|'hoan suffix (in the 1984 edition) and recognized it as the same word, I presumed recent borrowing, perhaps by both Naro and Ju|'hoansi from some non-San group in the distant past. The term is not obviously either Bantu, Ju|'hoan or Naro, and the custom seemed institutionalized among both Ju|'hoan and Naro. Among Ju|'hoan, though, *kamasi* refers specifically to gifts given for betrothal. These seem to be exchanged between both the groom's parent and the bride's, and a series of such gifts cements the relationship before marriage is recognized. Among Naro, a man confirms his marriage with a gift directly to his wife and another to his new mother-in-law, if she insists. The gifts continue among several relatives until the birth of the first child of the marriage. These are said to transfer "ownership" of the wife from her grandmothers (if they are still living) to her husband (grandmothers are said to "own" their grandchildren). Naro define marriage as the entire process of gift-giving (BARNARD 1976: 72-74). Also involved are food sharing, gifts between husband and wife, traditionally the killing of a steenbok by the groom (the meat eaten by his wife's parents), and ultimately the use of the possessive terms 'person', 'wife' and 'husband'. Gifts I witnessed included a tin cup and a dog.

Hxaro is practised among Kx'a-speaking groups and among the Khoe-speaking peoples, including Naro, who live closest to Ju|'hoansi. The practice of *hxaro* among the Ju|'hoansi was famously described by Polly WIESSNER (1977; 1982). Two years before she first did so, however, WIESSNER visited me in the field and told me what she had discovered. I promptly looked for it among the Naro, and found it equally prominent and important. The custom involves one person asking another for a non-consumable, material possession. The other person may refuse, or may give the object. If it is given, the two are said to be in a *hxaro* relationship, which may either continue indefinitely or eventually be broken off. *Hxaro* relationships are defined as

involving delayed, balanced reciprocity. The delay is important: *hxaro* goods are not exchanged immediately, but only later. The duration of time between exchanges (a week, a month or more), however, is not important. Nor is the relative value: the *hxaro* item may be a knitted cap, a digging stick or a pot. It is the *relationship itself* that is most significant. This is because *hxaro* encodes a deeper and culturally significant relationship, which is one of rights to use the non-*hxaro* resources of one's *hxaro* partner.

Figure 11-4 illustrates the Naro kinship terminology using the simplest means. In all cases, the basic forms are employed, whether these are the most common or not. Gender is not indicated, but is normally required, either with a noun suffix (e.g., *--sa*, feminine singular), or a copula (e.g., *--si'i*, literally 'she is', or sometimes, more emphatically, *--xa-si'i*). For example, "*Ti !uisa ...*" or "*Ti !ui si'i*" for "... my younger sister". An indication of gender is not required in direct address, for example, "*Ai-(j)e*" ("Mother"). The complete list of egocentric referential terms (as opposed to reciprocal terms, *--ku*) is given below. Indications of tone are not shown, but the orthography has been corrected to conform to usage (though not the click system) of VISSER (2001). Finally here, it should be noted that there is considerable overlap between categories, and some terms normally require possessive pronouns while others do not. For example, *tsxõo* and *mama* are semantically synonymous, but the former requires a possessive pronoun while the latter does not. One may say either "*Ti tsxõo si'i*" or "*Mama si'i*", but not "*Ti mama si'i*". In the latter case, the "*ti*" ("my") is implied. Similarly, and here with masculine singular and feminine singular suffixes, *aoba* ("my father") and *aisa* ("my mother") do not take the prefix "*ti*": it is implied, since *aoba* and *aisa* can only refer to the speaker's own "father" or "mother". All terms may be applied either to real or classificatory kin. Thus, for example, *aoba* is the term I use to describe *my real father*, and it is also the term I use for *my father's brother* (who is a classificatory "father").

A complete description of the terminology structure is rather complicated, but is included in every detail in BARNARD (1978a). I will therefore only summarize a few key points here. In order to reflect the Naro sense of categorization, as well as for simplicity of expression, definitions such as "grandparent", rather than genealogical positions (FF, FM, MF, MM, FFB, FMZ, MFB, MMZ) are used. Or for that matter, 'N' (namesake), which as I have argued in the past, operates exactly as a genealogical position in both Ju|'hoan and Naro. "Higher level" categories *joking (g//ai*,

possibly *g//ae*) and *avoidance* (!*ao*, *tao*), included in BARNARD (1978a), are not indicated here. These are, however, shown in Figure 11-4, where the joking relatives are shaded.

<i>mama</i> , <i>tsxõo</i>	grandparent, cross-uncle, cross-aunt, cross-cousin, cross-nephew, cross-niece, grandchild, namesake, spouse's joking relative
<i>tsxõo</i> -/ <i>oa</i>	cross-nephew, cross-niece, grandchild
<i>//õo</i>	parent, parent's same-sex sibling, adult child
<i>ao</i>	my father
<i>ai</i>	my mother
<i>sao</i>	[someone else's] parent
<i>ki</i>	elder sibling (real or classificatory)
<i>!õe</i>	younger sibling (real or classificatory)
<i>khoe</i>	spouse, spouse's same-sex sibling (who is also <i>mama</i> and <i>tsxõo</i>)
<i>kx'ao</i>	husband, sister's husband (w.s.) (who is also <i>mama</i> and <i>tsxõo</i>)
<i>g//ae</i>	wife, brother's wife (m.s.) (who is also <i>mama</i> and <i>tsxõo</i>)
<i>/ui</i>	sibling-in-law, spouse's avoidance relative

Naro kinship reinterpreted

Let us return to the questions I posed in the beginning. *Was the original language of the Naro really Ju|'hoan, or was it a related language?* Very simply, we do not know for sure. However, given the very wide geographical distribution of Kx'a languages, and the fact that there is essentially just one of them surviving, this in a sense does not matter much. It is likely that, whatever exact dialect they spoke, it was similar enough to modern Ju|'hoan that we do not require the supposition of any unknown language in order to explain the transition from Ju|'hoan to Naro, or rather from a Kx'a language similar to Ju|'hoan to a Khoe language similar to Naro.

So, did this northern group have a terminology structure like the modern Ju|'hoansi, or was it different? In the absence of any evidence at all to the contrary, from any other language, we should assume it was basically the same. Did the Naro already then have a Khoe-type structure, or was it Ju|'hoan-like, or indeed something different from both? Again, I favour the simplest possible explanation. The present-day structure is Khoe in every detail: with verbal, reciprocal usages hardly ever

found beyond Khoisan southern Africa; with different and very specific terms for parents in reference and address, and employed in exactly the same way in Naro as, for example, in Shua (compare BARNARD 1978a & Chapter 3), with the larger categories of “joking” and “avoidance”, employed exactly as in other Khoe systems. Apart from the Ju|’hoan naming system, the simplification resulting from its application across generations, and the Kx’a-like terms for cross-relatives (which resemble the Ju|’hoan ones for grandrelatives), there is not a vestige of anything non-Khoe there.

Was the direction of change simply Kx’a to Khoe? Yes, undoubtedly it was. Did the Naro contribute anything to the structural elements held in common between these two very different systems? This is unlikely: the structural elements Naro and Ju|’hoan have in common are all found in Ju|’hoan. So, what is the precise relation between the assumed “Northern” system and the “Central” one which came into contact with it? This probably was one of simple and largely one-way borrowing: from Kx’a to Khoe, and with no borrowing among Khoe other than among those immediately adjacent to the Naro, that is, Ts’aokhoe (a branch of Naro in any case) and †Haba. I would go so far as to say this is Kx’a to Naro, or even virtually Ju|’hoan to Naro.

And when was this? It is not possible to say when it was, it is easier to envisage how it happened. When first I learned of the transition the Naro underwent, from speaking a Kx’a dialect to speaking a Khoe one, or what we now know as Naro, I imagined some sort of population a bit like the several thousand Naro who exist today. In fact, though, we do not *need* such a population. I have not seen mtDNA or Y-chromosomal data to suggest whether female or male lines represent the “Naro” half of the original population, but it would be extremely surprising if we were, in fact, talking about a population of such a large size. Much more likely is to imagine perhaps a bilingual or multilingual population. This population need not have been very large at all. For some reason (contact with herders, or simply contact with larger or more powerful, Khoe-speaking populations), this group ended up speaking Naro. We see something similar going on in other parts of the Kalahari in more recent times: for example, the widespread use of Naro (and perhaps the influence of Naro kinship) among bilingual people at Bere over the last several decades. I first encountered them speaking Naro with each other in the mid-1970s, and have witnessed this on occasion in the decades since as well. That may be a good model for the earlier shift we imagine, rather than a large population changing language en masse.

As for kinship structures, rather than imagining a structural shift in kinship classification, the more reasonable assumption must be a *loss* of the essential attributes of Kx'a kinship. The three exceptions would be the naming system and things directly related to it (like the term *tsxõo*, for 'grandrelative'), the custom of *kamasi* or *kamane*, and of course *hxaro*. With that, all else fits into place: a small, mixed group choosing between languages, and eventually adopting the Khoe one, and with it a simplified version of the Khoe kinship system. As I said in 1988, that, basically, is what Naro kinship is. In other words, what these early Naro ended up with need not be regarded as startling. And certainly we should not imagine a population the size of the one we know today. The early Naro, and probably the Kx'a or Ju|'hoan population of that time might have numbered just a few hundred, or indeed fewer.

Adam SMITH once wrote, in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence*:

"If we should suppose 10 or 12 persons of different sexes settled in an uninhabited island, the first method they would fall upon for their sustenance would be to support themselves by the wild fruits and wild animals which the country afforded. Their sole business would be hunting the wild beasts or catching the fishes ... This is the age of hunters." (A. SMITH 1978 [Dec. 24, 1762]: 14)

"In the age of hunters it is impossible for a very great number to live together. As game is their only support they would soon exhaust all that was within their reach. Thirty or forty families would be the most that could live together, that is, about 140 or 150 persons. These might live by the chase in the country about them. They would also naturally form themselves into these villages, agreeing to live near together for their mutual security." (A. SMITH 1978 [Feb. 22, 1763]: 213)

The striking thing about Adam SMITH's imaginary population size is that it accords so extraordinarily well with Robin DUNBAR's (2003: 172-75) calculations of 148 or, rounded up, about 150, for human groups. That, in fact, is the "natural", predicted population size of a human group, assuming that the ratio of neocortex size or brain size generally to population size is the same for humans as for all other primates. The earliest calculations were for neocortex size alone, but the figure comes out the same for total brain size as well. Of course, humans do not in practice generally adhere to these predictions, but that is because humans possess *political structures* which enable abnormally large groups to form. And humans also possess *language*, which enables political structures. For that reason, for preferred examples DUNBAR

uses other markers for ideal human population sizes, for example intentional, anarchistic communities such as Hutterites, or proxy “communities” such as people’s Christmas card lists. They work as “natural” human communities.

If we take a step back, we can “see” the original Naro population more clearly: numbering fewer than 150, bilingual in a Kx’a language and (gradually) a Khoe one, or possibly multilingual, naming their children according to the principles of Kx’a kinship, and with the Khoe kinship structure basically taking over: a shift from making a lineal/collateral distinction to making a parallel/cross one. Regarding bilingualism or even multilingualism, keep in mind that there are (a very small number of) N!aqriaxe in Botswana who apparently can speak languages in five different language families: Kx’a, Khoe, Tuu, Bantu, and Indo-European. The final shift for the Naro is made easy by the lack of necessity for people to reclassify their relatives every time someone has more than two children of either sex. *Kamasi* and *hxaro* could well have existed then, or have been borrowed, presumably from Ju|’hoan, later. For the language shift to be complete, I would envisage small groups of Kx’a-speakers and Proto-Naro moving towards the use of the latter language, then population expansion, division into bands and band clusters, with the continuation of the naming rules, *kamasi* and *hxaro*, and eventually the solidification of kinship practices as a new and distinctive system. Recent developments, including the adoption of surnames, might lead in future to a shift from parallel/cross back to lineal/collateral terminology usage, as we see among Khoekhoe today (BARNARD 1980a).

In short, the language shift from Kx’a to Khoe is not actually all that surprising, if we keep in perspective the likelihood of small groups, of multilingualism, and perhaps of mixed populations as well.